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WAR & PEACE

Washington turns its back to second Bulganin plea; what about the balloons?

By Tabitha Petran

IN FACE OF A BROAD socialist-world diplomatic initiative, Western policy remained frozen last week in Cold War "unconditional surrender" positions. At the same time there were reports of new provocations: the sending of radio-equipped, photographic balloons over Soviet territory.

Soviet protests to the U. S. and Turkey said the balloons were launched in W. Germany and other countries bordering the U. S. S. R. State Dept. sources thought they might be "weather balloons" launched by the Air Force as part of its Intl. Geophysical Year program. But it is perhaps relevant that Col. Richard S. Leghorn, one of the inspirers of the President's "open skies" plan, claimed last summer (**U. S. News**, 7/22/55) that the Air Force could carry out aerial reconnaisance of Soviet territory without Soviet agreement. The Soviet protests followed a rising tide of complaints—from East Europe and

Carrefour, Paris

"You can go in now. The Bomb Squad has finished examining the Bulganin letter to Eisenhower."

West—against Radio Free Europe propaganda balloons which are endangering air travel in Europe.

NO CHINKS AT ALL: These new provocations are a measure of the West's lack of diplomatic planning. International diplomacy, the **Christian Science Monitor** said (1/30), is usually a business of mutual concessions, give and take; but the President's rejection of the U. S. S. R.'s proposed friendship pact "offered no hints of any new western positions, no chinks for bargaining."

Soviet Premier Bulganin's second letter to the President sought to open "chinks" and pave the way for concrete discussions on areas of conflict. For the real disappointment since Geneva has been, as Walter Lippmann indicated (1/31), the failure to fulfill its promise of "a continuing exchange of serious and concrete views" on disputed questions.

Replying to some of the President's objections to his first letter, Bulganin said the pact would make the UN more effective, and that the U. S. S. R. was ready to conclude similar pacts with Britain and France. He did not agree, however, to the ultimatums (acceptance of the "open skies" plan, German reunification on Western terms, etc.) which Washington has set as the price for negotiations. Negotiations are required to work out settlements of questions at issue. Prior capitulation by the U. S. S. R., as Washington demands, would render them unnecessary.

SIGNS OF WORRY: Washington's reaction to Bulganin's second message was even colder than to the first. But some signs of real worry did filter through its propaganda curtain. The N. Y. **Times** (2/5) found in the nation's capital "a feeling that the Russians have scored heavily" in some areas. Some Administration officials were reported troubled by the possible effects in W. Germany of Bulganin's insistence that a friendship pact would facilitate solving the problem of German reunification. And others, believing the U. S. disarmament stand to be "vulnerable," wanted a "new U. S. initiative" on this question.

The President, however, was expected to reject the second message as he had the first. Washington had already turned a deaf ear to the proposal made by China's Premier Chou En-lai to reconvene the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China to "insure implementation" of the armistice agreement. (This called for all-Viet Nam elections before July, 1956, to unify the country.) London promised to give Chou's proposal "careful consideration" but was reported "cool."

DEMOCRATS' OFFENSIVE: If some in Washington were worried, they did not include vocal Democrats who last week

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The Washington Declaration

A new mixture made up of five parts Dulles and one part Eden (the reluctant taster pictured left). Confidential advice was given by Sen. George of Georgia (c.). Overseeing the proceedings was the baleful eye of Sen. Johnson of Texas (rear.). It is predicted that the beverage will not sparkle.

A STATEMENT FOR NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

Democracy in America

By W. E. B. DuBois

IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY, belief in democracy is fading and freedom is more and more limited. Freedom as too many Americans understand it is the opportunity of persons who are smart or lucky to make large personal incomes with the least interference on the part of the government; and with limited opportunity for public opinion to express itself. Democracy reduces itself to the rule of property over jobs and news so that elections present few choices for the voters but register decisions already agreed upon by the groups in control. As a nation, we are convinced that if such groups control "free elections" in Germany, Viet-Nam, Guatemala and the United States, all will be well.

Democracy among the "free democracies of the West" no longer envisages equality. Real equality in a day of machine and technique means essential equality of income. Without that, and with private monopoly of natural resources and private profit from national industry, the working people must obey the owners of wealth. They cannot cast a free ballot. But we no longer believe that even approximately equal distribution of wealth is possible or desirable. We must have poor workers or rich industrial leaders cannot survive. Without masters of wealth, who would furnish the ten million dollars of "expense" which the election of 1956 is going to cost?

YET THERE WAS ONCE A DAY—how long ago it seems! —when this nation dreamed of real democracy, in an El Dorado beyond the golden West, where human beings of every sort, with essentially equal standards of living, with freedom to believe in any creed they chose, could live together in peace. We said that all men should have a voice in their government. If men are ignorant, teach them. If they are poor, see that they have sufficient income to share the surrounding standard of life; if they are sick, heal them; if through inexperience they make mistakes, let them learn by these very mistakes. If they are inherently evil, try by every reasonable method to raise their ethical standards.

What killed this mighty dream before it was fully born? Our own sin and greed. We exterminated the red Indians because we wanted their land. We imported black labor and reduced it to the last stage of exploitation so as to steal all it produced.

Then when the freedom of white men was threatened by the greed of Britain, we awoke and cried to the hills in 1776: "All men are created equal," and we started to free the black slave. But no! Slaves raised cotton. Cotton became king about 1820 and the king's courtiers began to fight to spread Negro slavery all over America so as to make slaveholders a special and superior breed of men. But no nation can exist "half slave and half free." The white worker began to fight in Kansas in 1854 to escape the fatal competition of the black slave. He won when he made Lincoln President in 1861. But the angry slave barons plunged the nation into civil war. Then the nation had to do what it did not want to do. It freed the black slaves, not willingly, but as Charles Sumner said:

> "Reason, humanity, justice were powerless in his behalf; but necessity was irresistible. And the result testifies how wisely the Republic acted. Without emancipation, followed by the arming of the slaves, rebel slavery would not have been overcome. With these the victory was easy."

THUS IN 1863 AGAIN for a moment this nation aimed at democracy and glimpsed "the glory of the coming of the Lord"; a nation of free and equal citizens with no distinctions of class or race. But only for a brief moment. The "dog is turned to his own vomit again." Flushed with the rich loot of war, Northern industry joined the slaveholders' wrath and opened the door to re-enslave the Negro and the white worker beside him in order to make America the wealthiest nation on earth.

Charles Sumner stood in the Senate chamber 90 years ago this very month and warned. The House of Representatives crowded in. The world listened to this man, whom a slavedriver had tried to kill in 1856 on the floor of this very Senate and nearly succeeded, while Massachusetts veiled her face and mourned. Frederick Douglass sat in the gallery and heard. Sumner said:

> "Our fathers solemnly announced the Equal Rights of all men, and that Government had no just foundation except in the consent of the governed; and to the sup-

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THE MAIL BAG

Here's hoping

REDONDO BEACH, CALIF.

It might be a sensible thing for Mr. Dulles to "resign" (with President Eisenhower's kind assistance), as Drew Pearson predicted back in September, "after the first of the year." This might prove to be one of Pearson's "82% accurate forecasts." Here's hoping like everything! C. H. Turvey

New parity idea

HENDRUM, MINN.

The farm crisis is real and, unless effective remedial legislation be enacted by the Congress now in session, it may trigger a chain reaction of catastrophic proportions. The Cold War has disrupted our market. Our warehouses are glutted. Farm mechanization has left us farmers with far too little land to produce economically.

A factory farm can produce at a profit at half the price an operator of a family size farm must get to survive. Economic law will eventually prevail. Congress cannot repeal nor amend it. The American Way of Life will pass away throughout rural America. But Congress can slow down the process.

The soil bank can have little effect other than to swell the profits of corporation farms. The small and middle farmers cannot afford to put any of their acres in a land bank. They are partially unemployed now and their expensive equipment stands idle for lack of land.

The most simple, effective and the least costly way would perhaps be to provide price support of 100% parity for a limited production per farmer, perhaps about $25,000 of price supported commodities, with no support for production in excess thereof.

Every farmer and non-farmer alike should give the farm crisis most serious consideration and then advise his representatives in Congress what he thinks should be done about it. Whatever Congress may do in this matter will affect all of us. Jasper Haaland

Surplus diplomacy

BORNHOLEN, DENMARK

Here the press have been astounded by Eisenhower's proposal to limit acreage by 20% and the Scandinavian farmers are good and mad about his threat to export surplus butter to unfriendly countries. To them U.S. policy of prohibiting them to have normal commercial relations with the Soviet Union and peoples' democracies, at the same time the U.S. proposes to take over the market, doesn't make sense. They are demanding that the Danish foreign minister do something about it at his forthcoming visit to Moscow in March.

Andy Overgard

Third party program

BERKELEY, CALIF.

Select a dozen persons in range of N.Y.C., people who know the score. Delegate to them the job of soliciting sponsors for a third party—just a hundred or two nationally known persons from all walks of life. Let them issue the call for a third party conference to consider a program much as follows:

World peace and disarmament.

A federal anti-lynch law with teeth.

A federal law to establish the rights, liberties and due respect for all minority groups.

Repeal Taft-Hartley, McCarran, Smith and McCarran-Walter Acts.

A guaranteed wage to replace the insufficient unemployment insurance dole.

Re-establishment of the first ten amendments with their guaranteed civil rights.

Extension of federal medical aid now enjoyed by millions of G.I.'s and ex-G.I.'s and their families to every man, woman and child in the U.S.

A federal old age pension of $150 per month to every man and woman 60 years or older, to be patterned after the Canadian federal pension act, to replace the chaotic federal system now in use.

Five billions yearly for 10 years on new school buildings and equipment.

Three billions yearly for salaries of new teachers. Our country is about eleventh in literacy—let's make it number one.

Three billions yearly for youth centers. Let's keep our young people off the streets, out of saloons, brothels and dope dens.

Two billions yearly for child welfare centers. Let's give our babies the best possible chance for health and happiness.

Establish a series of regional palaces for the aged and incapacitated persons.

All this to be done in the name of peace and good will, safer economy and greater happiness. All organizations are despondent of any assistance from the Republican-Democrats—even Meany moans.

Such a call would bring out thousands of delegates. A football stadium would be required to handle the conference. Even the call alone would scare the Sunday pants off the crooked politicians.

Try this! It will work!

John C. Taylor

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Last year's air raid test jolted industrial mobilization planners. Initial reports didn't seem so bad. Only 25 million casualties and 2% of the aircraft production knocked out.

"But then we started going over the whole picture," says Lloyd Mulit of the Defense Dept. "Counting up subcontractors and others, we found we had no aircraft production."

Iron Age, Jan. 26, 1956.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: M. W., New York. Be sure to send original clipping with entry.

What's my name?

NORTH HAVEN, CONN.

There is much talk about a Third Party these days and what it could do, but so far no one has suggested anyone that would be suitable candidates for such a party. If you will permit me I have in mind two great farm leaders, real grass-roots men who, I am sure, would take us out of the mess we're in and start us off on the road to Utopia. These two men I have in mind have never betrayed their trust. I will not mention names of these two men but I will give you and the readers a little clue. One of them wrote "for how long does the farmer feed them all," and the other "atomic blessing or atomic blasting."

Dirt Farmer

Our magic mirror says "tghirW elhcrA" and "revotS derF." Ed.

Ek on Ike

SPENCER, IND.

Wm. Jennings Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech in 1896 thrilled the world and me when he said, "You cannot press down the Crown of Thorns upon the brow of Labor." Ike has revised this: "You cannot press down the Crown of Thorns upon the brow of Wall St."

I plan to write a letter to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, that old war horse, rebel and revolutionist, who with Jessica Smith and Anna Louise Strong are the "Peace Queens of the World." I am not well and doubt if I see 83 in June. Nuf sed. Charles M. Ek

Big wind upstate

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The coldest old warrior
Is Mr. Harriman—and remember
To make it good and hot for him
If he runs next November.

L. G.

Hands off Israel

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

In answer to Morris Cohen of Paris, France, I'm more inclined to agree with Jack Katz. It may or may not be used to whip up hysteria but can you, Morris Cohen, guarantee that the arms they are now receiving from East and West will not be used by the Arabs to destroy Israel? They have in the past.

I disagree that David Ben Gurion and Moshe Sharett have no use for an Israeli-Arab friendship policy. The Jewish nation does not want war and never has.

I have no reason to hate the Arabs (individually or any nation). I was not brought up to hate. But when six Arab nations invade and try to destroy Israel, I do not feel like running up to them and hugging them. I won't say that the Arab people themselves want a war with Israel; but they can be easily whipped up to hate Israel, as any Jew living outside of Israel may easily know.

It is unfortunate that some Jews may side with the West in the Cold War and a few maybe with the East, but it is untrue that Israel is a tool of the "Western Imperialists" and is an aggressor. It is probably because of this reason that they don't receive aid from the West or East because they will not let themselves become a pawn in the Cold War and to be used as a base for West or East. It is the Arabs who are being wooed by East and West. I am against the Western-sponsored Baghdad pact, of which I'm glad Israel is no member. I'm also against the principle of an American-Israeli pact proposed by some Jews, for the same reason as the Baghdad pact, but when a nation is in danger they will do things that they ordinarily won't do. This goes also for preventative war which some (few) Jews propose and which I'm against.

The tide of revolution against colonialism and imperialism sweeping throughout Asia, Africa and the Middle East, I'm in sympathy with. But it would be unjustified for it to be used against Israel. The ends do not justify the means.

Joseph Gertman

No complaints

SEATTLE, WASH.

I wish I could have a dollar's worth of our surpluses to use. Why must they all be sent to foreigners or left to rot? We pay taxes to buy our own goods—then can't have a bit of it when we need it.

Not one of our lawmakers from the President down should ever complain of how other countries are managed. Edna V. Hansen

Carrefour, Paris

"Tell your teacher that I said oxygen is all right but hydrogen is too dangerous for children."

Batture dwellers

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

I would ask GUARDIAN readers to note a few facts favoring the evicted Batture Dwellers' suit for compensation, still pending before Judge J. Skelly Wright in Federal District Court here. Since these floodline dwellers saw their homes of 20 and 30 years bulldozed and burned July, 1954 (allegedly for flood control!) they've moved uncompensated from high-rent to high-rent (mostly slums) in a city constantly claiming top honors for "slum clearance."

The litigants in an open letter (11/25) to Clifford F. Favrot, president of the New Orleans Housing Improvement Council, 509 St. Charles Av. (which includes Mayor Morrison), asked a grant of space and good used materials for building a modest new home community, and aid in getting compensation from the levee board and U.S. Engineers, by whose order the homes were destroyed. Answer so far: runaround. Letters from outside to these gentlemen would be most helpful.

The encouraging new fact is the U S. Supreme Court agreement to review a similar case, in which General Box Co. won $16,000 damages from a Louisiana levee board for destroying timber the company owned, on land it didn't own. The levee board appealed won reversal; now Supreme Court will review.

Benjamin E. Smith Natl. Lawyers Guild attorney for Batture Dwellers, is presenting a brief amicus curiae to the Supreme Court, showing that the decision in General Box Co. case may mean life or death to thousands over Mississippi Valley flood control areas, and stressing the due process guarantees of 5th and 14th Amendments.

Whichever way the General Box Co. case is decided, funds and protests from others will be needed to see the Batture case through. Any who can help should request illustrated booklet, "These Were Our Homes." Address Mrs. J. R. Dillenkoffer, Treas., Batture Dwellers & Defense Assn., 1134 Joseph St., New Orleans, La.

Walter Rogers, Chairman

No exile

NEW YORK, N.Y.

"The loneliness of an exile among strangers is nothing like the loneliness of a man exiled among his own people."—Sean O'Casey.

So honor and praise to the GUARDIAN which has saved its readers from the misery of being "readers-in-exile." No exile here when we have articles like those of Elmer Bendiner on the crummy candidates and the lovely letter of poet Thomas McGrath. V. R.

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NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

Democracy in America

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port of the Declaration, heralding these self-evident truths, they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. . . . And now the moment has come when these vows must be fulfilled to the letter. In securing the Equal Rights of the freedman, and his participation in the Government, which he is taxed to support, we shall perform those early promises of the Fathers, and at the same time the supplementary promises only recently made to the freedman as to the condition of alliance and aid against the Rebellion. A failure to perform these promises is moral and political bankruptcy . . ."

So in 1876 this nation went into moral bankruptcy; democracy languished and freedom was lynched. Gradually political democracy was disowned of its own children. Walter Lippmann has just voiced this repudiation:

> "Where mass opinion dominates the government, there is a morbid derangement of the true functions of power. The derangement brings about the enfeeblement, verging on paralysis, of the capacity to govern. This breakdown in the constitutional order is the cause of the precipitate and catastrophic decline of Western society. It may, if it cannot be arrested and reversed, bring about the fall of the West."

O NO, NO! THIS IS NOT HISTORY; it is the fiction which the people of this nation are hearing today from men who prostitute their brains for wealth and security. Democracy planned to educate the mass of people so that they would understand life, rescue, discover, and cultivate talent and genius and let science and art lead the people to the promised land; until the day when the average man would not, to be sure, be a Lippmann, but abundantly able to distinguish between a McCarthy and a Paul Robeson. Instead of this, instead of the education which should be preparing the mass of citizens for guidance of government and understanding of civilization, education has been let to languish; truth has forcibly been kept from the ears of the masses, discussion curtailed, and the destiny of this nation has been pictured not as civilization but as that revival of barbarism which is universal world war.

WHEN WE WELCOMED 38 MILLION IMMIGRANTS from the slums of Europe to our shores, we tried to use them for private profit in exploitation of labor, in degradation of political methods and exacerbation of class divisions. When, fighting back, their trade unions forced high wages and a decent standard of living, what did we teach them to do? To join the colonial imperialism through which Europe blocked the further growth of democracy in the modern world by conquering the peoples of Asia, Africa and America, and stealing their land, labor and material. The wealth and power of nineteenth century Europe was concentrated in the hands of the rich to hold back the escape of the poor into equality.

This colonialism America joined, and now leads. Colonialism has by blood and tears and the jealousies of the white nations been transformed from outright slavery and theft to wage poverty and private profit, but it remains as the chief method of building white ascendancy on the degradation of the majority of mankind. This has been accomplished by bribing white workers with higher wages and using them as soldiers to keep the dark world in submission. For this purpose the United States leads the world toward war today, by an insane pouring out of wealth for war which is sufficient to realize the highest dreams of the world's greatest minds if used intelligently and not worse than wasted.

OF COURSE EVERYBODY agrees with Mencken and Lippmann and a thousand thinkers that nations should be governed by brains and taste and ability. But to this there is no more royal a road than to government by blood, privilege or "grace of God." How shall we get the brains save by education of the mass? How rare a contribution of talent and genius have we lost in America by malingering, and cheating, and blunt refusal to educate the Negro race! HOW SURELY HAVE WE CURTAILED FREEDOM AND STRANGLED DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA BY OUR "NEGRO PROBLEM"!

THE FRENCH POPULAR FRONT MOVEMENT GROWS

The choice for Premier Mollet

By Anne Bauer
Special to the GUARDIAN

PARIS

THE FIRST GOVERNMENT to come out of the January elections is a Republican Front coalition government that resembles a one-party government in that the Socialists hold all the key positions. It is also a minority government which, because of promises made to the Left and Right, was voted in by a large majority. It is a government capable of the best and the worst.

Nothing is more interesting to watch, in a new Assembly, than the initial behind-the-scenes contacts and maneuvers that precede the formation of the first government. They contain, in a nut-shell, all the possible combinations of every future government that may come out of that Assembly.

The right-wing parties who have proved themselves poor losers and mediocre strategists—they called precisely for the kind of irresponsible,

PREMIER GUY MOLLET
There is a clamor below

undetermined "national union" government the country had voted against in January—are out of the running, at least for the immediate future. The three chief protagonists on the political scene at present are the Socialists, the Communists, and the Popular Republicans (MRP). Their relations, alliances and internal developments will determine the direction in which the new government will move.

MRP SHIFT: Of the three, the MRP hopes for a mildly left-wing government without the Communists; the Communists want an all left wing government without reaction. The Socialists, a government party, are trying to turn slightly to the Right without shocking their militants.

The MRP, which remains the Catholic, clerical party, looks to the Left today, not so much out of inclination but from tactical necessity. The party has shrunk from 28% of the total vote in 1946, to 11% in 1956. Their sanest, most dynamic force today is the Christian Workers Union (CFTC) and they can ill afford to disappoint that section of their voters—certainly not on social legislation.

The MRP has been the faithful support of too many reactionary governments for too long. In the new Assembly, it has no more urgent preoccupation than to change its Center Right label for a Center Left one. A coalition government with the Socialists would give it a new lease on life.

CHURCH AND STATE: In domestic politics, the Socialists and Popular Republicans are diametrically opposed on the question of separation of State and Church in education. The issue was settled half a century ago but reopened by the 1951, pro-clerical majority, and will come up for an early and heated debate before the new Assembly. On that point, the MRP hopes for a compromise solution, or adjournment.

In foreign policy, the MRP continues in the foot-steps of Bidault, Robert Schumann and the rest of its policy makers who supported all-out war in Indo-China and German rearmament and are responsible for the Moroccan and Tunisian crises, that cost the country dearly in lives, wealth and hopes for the future. But the Indo-Chinese war is over, much of the past is forgotten, and the "European movement"—the new MRP battle cry—is, like its predecessor, the European Defense Community, one of the major points of agreement between the MRP and the Socialists. It is one of the incongruities of French politics—and perhaps not only of French—that the classic dividing line between Left and Right no longer runs straight when it comes to foreign politics, but zigzags across parties and groups according to interests and considerations too complex for comfort.

MORE THAN HALF-WAY: The position of the Communists is simple and has not varied since the beginning of the election campaign. They want a Popular Front government. Knowing that such a government is mathematically possible in the new Assembly, and politically the only guarantee for a long-term progressive policy, the CP is determined to meet the other left-wing parties more than half-way in order to achieve this goal.

With the Communists to their Left and the MRP to their right, the Socialist leaders [illegible] more complicated [illegible]ition because they are at once the heads of a [illegible] a government. As heads of the Republican Front government, they are for the present in an enviable bargaining position. Counting out the Poujadists who are not numerous enough and too isolated to carry decisive weight often, the triangular make-up of the new Assembly (170 Republican Front, 150 Communist, 190 Right-wing deputies) will allow the Republican Front government to live comfortably for a while on two or three interchangeable majorities that may vary on every important vote. Premier Guy Mollet was careful in his opening address to cast the anathema neither to his right nor to his left.

ALOOF TO THE LEFT: In the past the French Socialists have always looked to their right for allies, to their left for their enemies. In coalition governments they have been at ease with right-wing parties of almost every shade. They entered into a brief association with the Communists in the 1936 Popular Front government largely because they were forced by their own militants. Since the war their aloofness has been accentuated perhaps because they have lost their predominant position to the Communists. Between 1936 and 1956 the Socialist vote rose from 1.9 to almost 3 million but the Communist vote increased from 1.5 to nearly 5 million, making the CP the first party of France.

Ever since the Tours Congress in 1920 which broke up the party of Jaures into Communists and Socialists, the French SP has remained a monolithic, conservative group. They have given birth to no progressive Socialist party, such as the Nenni Socialists in Italy, nor to a left-wing like the Bevanists in England. Today the SP and the MRP are the most ardent "Europeans" of the House.

The "Europeans" defined themselves

Effel in Humanite, Paris
A French Communist election cartoon

most clearly in their battle in favor of the European (and German) Army two years ago. Today, Germany is being rearmed, not through the EDC which never came to life—but through the Paris Treaty Agreement, but the "European" idea continues to fly the colors of reaction.

The MRP sees in "Little Europe" (France, Western Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries) a rebirth of the Holy Roman Empire, with the Vatican for a godfather, as Robert Schumann explained last year. The Socialists seek in it, among other things, an antidote against Communism.

Even before being voted into power by the new Assembly, Mollet made a spectacular "European" gesture. Mendes-France wanted for himself the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; that was the least the No. 1 personality of the Republican Front could expect. But Mendes-France is persona non grata with the MRP which finds him lacking in "European" fervor. This is why the Foreign Office today is occupied, not by Mendes-France, but by the very orthodox "European" Socialist Christian Pineau.

POPULAR FRONT BELOW: Mollet's first concession to the MRP is still a gesture—but a gesture away from the Left. But while he symbolically turns his back on a Popular Front majority, the Popular Front movement is growing throughout the country. Letters and petitions are not the only indication.

The Channel port of Le Havre, and the small town of Romans, in the center of France, held municipal elections on Jan. 22. They were the first local elections since the general ones on Jan. 2. In both towns, the Socialists came out against a Popular Front government, the Communists in favor. In both elections, the Socialists lost, the Communists gained votes and seats. The Communist gains were more substantial than those made in the general elections. Three weeks were enough to accelerate the movement toward a united left-wing government, and to turn a number of disappointed Socialist voters away from their own party—some of them for the first time in their lives.

Today Le Havre has a Communist mayor and a Communist Council. In 1935, the first Popular Front municipality at St. Etienne pointed the way toward the 1936 nationwide Popular Front government. It is too early to say whether Le Havre will be in 1956 what St. Etienne was 20 years ago. But it is not too early for the Socialist leaders to ponder these figures and draw conclusions.

Jean Effel in New Times, Moscow
Our wish for 1956—PEACE!

MEXICAN HONORED

Cardenas accepts Stalin Peace Prize

LAZARO CARDENAS, ex-president of Mexico and its outstanding elder statesman whose prestige crosses all party lines, last month announced his acceptance of the Stalin peace prize. The Mexican weekly **Siempre** (1/25) said that some people felt they had Cardenas boxed in:

". . . if Cardenas accepts the Stalin prize he is a communist; if he refuses the cause of peace loses its best and purest voice in Mexico."

Siempre's reporter interviewed Cardenas, found him "faithful to himself, his history, his unchanging attitude, his convictions." Cardenas told him:

"I am grateful for the honor of having my name mentioned in connection with the peace prize. I have always thought the cause of world peace is incompatible with partisan intolerance and discrimination and that it will triumph only if based on understanding and good will on the part of all those who represent conflicting interests."

CROSS-COUNTRY TOUR FOR GUARDIAN

Kumar Goshal in Minneapolis March 9-10

THE GUARDIAN's Kumar Goshal will make Minneapolis his first stop in a cross-country tour. An authority on the Far East and author of several books on the colonial world, Goshal will talk on peace and freedom as Asians and Africans see it. He will also present two motion picture films on the Bandung Conference and on Indian Premier Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union.

The Minneapolis program will be given at Andrews Hall, Friday, March 9. The meeting will also discuss the political situation in Minnesota and will feature musical entertainment. Door contributions are: 75c, three introductory subscriptions to the GUARDIAN at $1 each or one regular yearly subscription at $3.

Minnesotans were expected to gather from many parts of the state at Andrews Hall. Some were planning to stay over and attend a house party on Sat. evening, March 10, at which Goshal will again speak. The week-end will also see planning by progressives on farm problems and for state and national conferences on the next steps for progressives.

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BENSON'S EARS WERE BURNING

Eastern FU counts damage to small family farmers

By Milly Salwen
Special to the Guardian

TRENTON, N. J.

FARMERS who convened here last week for Jersey's annual Farmer's Week were jolted to learn that Secy. of Agriculture Benson had agreed—if briefly—that they are "pampered tyrants." For the state's Farm Bureau and Grange leaders, who control the huge corporation-type farms, it meant a hasty weekend trip to Washington for fence-mending conferences. But the thousands who work the small, family-size farms girded for a political fight to unseat Benson and win full parity in '56.

The **Harper's** magazine charge that farmers are "living in clover and Cadillacs" echoed ironically through the 13th annual convention of the Eastern Farmers Union. Two of their delegates were unable to attend: their farms were being foreclosed.

The now-famous **Harper's** article was recognized here as more than a collection of biting insults. Imbedded in it is the compressed program of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and its goal—to drive the small farmer off the land.

100% FOR ALL: These farmers have no intention of leaving. In a busy two-day session Jan. 27-28 at the Stacy-Trent hotel they added up the damage of "another year older and deeper in debt" and mapped plans for uniting with labor to win laws they both need. Top of their list is a campaign to amend Senate Bill HR 12 to include all produce farmers, not just the six basic crops, and to raise parity to 100%. The bill, now a bare minimum package, skimmed through the last session only because AFL, CIO and the independent unions backed it.

At their closing banquet the farmers heard Prof. M. S. Sundaram, cultural attache of the Indian Embassy, spell out the need for "the fine principle of co-existence—peacefully living together . . . with the mutual benefit of trade and commerce, mutual respect for each other."

India's "revolution by consent," he said, is based on the thirst for social justice of its people, 70% of them farmers, who comprise one-sixth of the world's population. No political parties have been outlawed, he said, because "we believe that even if you are a minority of one, your right to disagree and to express your disagreement is the test of freedom."

MANY TROUBLES: The convention analyzed "the sickening 30% slump" in farm prices, and predicted net farm income will sink another 5% during '56. The past year, said exec. secy. Louis Slocum, was "a hangover from one of the worst years in history" for the poultry industry. A brief rally in egg prices, offset by widespread disease among the flocks, broke sharply and dove 20c in past weeks to the current 41½c, below cost for hard-pressed poultrymen.

While dairy farmers suffer from a "slow erosion," the produce market shows the same sharp ups and downs as poultry. This summer's drought, and plummeting prices, had special impact on the area's produce farmers. Their growing interest in Farmers Union was reflected in this year's election of a potato grower to the board of directors. President Alvin Christman of Centerport, Pa., and others on the slate were reelected.

FOR JOINT ACTION: The urgency of farmer-labor unity was underlined by Meyer Stern, president of District 6 of the AFL-CIO Packinghouse Workers, who said both "are victims of the same small minority of big business . . . who divide to rule."

He showed how the meat trusts operate a double-squeeze: "paying the farmer the lowest rate in 15 years" while they "continue to speed up the workers to the extent where we lose jobs by the thousands and the packers get billions of pounds more production from the workers."

In 1955 alone, he reported, 2,600 workers were laid off, and the remaining workers produced 3 billion more pounds of meat—while the industry pocketed an extra $5.80 saving on every 100 pounds of pork processed.

Stern documented the need for organizing Negro and white workers and farmers through the South, drew applause with a proposal for a joint FU-UPW legislative committee.

FU's traditional support for strikers has been welcomed by Westinghouse workers, both UE and IUE, in Newark, Trenton and Philadelphia, where Toms River, Farmingdale and Vineland farmers distributed eggs and chickens.

In Slocum's report, Benson's Boner was not the only Administration target: President Eisenhower's soil bank plan developed "to make farm commodities scarce," was "not the answer to the farmer's problems." For poultrymen, who depend on the conversion of feed into eggs and poultry, he said the soil bank "might complicate their problems."

WAR OR FLOOD CONTROL? As for Dulles, "our tactless and reckless Secretary of State can sit on as many 'brinks' as he wants, but the fact is, our people are not interested in war." The collision between a war policy and federal aid from the threat of floods was pinpointed by President Christman in his report on widespread flood damage. If the current arms program is maintained at the same high level, he warned, "there will be no funds left for flood control."

Not all the reports were gloomy: headway was seen in the newly formed Federation of Egg Producers of N. J., which speaks for 70% of Jersey's egg farmers, and there were signs of greater unity to come. Further, the '56 elections were seen as a lever to pry some realistic improvement in parity laws from this year's Congress.

PLANNED FREEDOM: Progress in civil liberties was a theme threaded through the entire session and summed up by Dr. Paul L. Lehmann, professor of Applied Christianity at the Princeton Theological Seminary.

Dr. Lehmann urged that the Rosenberg case be reviewed (see box, this page). He stressed this central point:

> "The right to think what you like and say what you think is really the core of the issue of civil liberty . . . that is what the whole catalogue of our liberties is both designed to create and safeguard."

We are headed for a planned society, he said; the question is whether it will be one of "planned freedom or planned regimentation."

Of Smith Act convictions he said:

> "For the first time in our history, people are liable . . . not for their actions but for ideas they carry around in their heads."

Plenty to see at the Farmers Union convention, including pretty Judith Herman of Hightstown, N. J., and her companion, a papier-mache cow created for a skit by the inventive Fowler Family. Also on exhibit were sculpture, paintings, needlework by gifted FU members. There were also folk and square dances, a camp reunion and songs by Juanita Cascone and Jolly Robinson.

Paralysis of fear

TRENTON, N. J.

A FRESH LOOK at the Rosenberg case was urged last weekend by Dr. Paul L. Lehmann, professor of Applied Christianity at Princeton Theological Seminary. While he said he was "not prepared to say whether the Rosenbergs were innocent or guilty," Dr. Lehmann termed the case "our most serious challenge" in the area of civil liberties.

Speaking at the Eastern Farmers Union convention here, Dr. Lehmann said:

> "Now that the hysteria has died down, and responsible political scientists can review the documents of the Rosenberg case . . . the U. S. Dept. of Justice has certain very fundamental questions to answer. . . . Reconsideration (of the case) can liberate us from the kind of paralysis that fear creates in a nation."

Dr. Lehmann quoted from a review of John Wexley's **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg** by University of Utah Prof. Francis D. Wormuth in the **Western Quarterly Review**, who wrote that unless the Justice Dept. can answer the Wexley criticisms "we must conclude that the Rosenberg case is our Dreyfus case, outdoing the first in sordidness, cruelty and terror."

TRIAL INDEFINITELY PUT OFF

2nd minister refuses to replace Melish; diocese asks new law to oust pastor

ON JANUARY 31, the congregation of Brooklyn's Holy Trinity Church scored another victory when the Rev. George W. Barnes of California declined to replace the Rev. William Howard Melish.

Since Jan. 10 six dissident vestrymen, supported by diocesan Bishop DeWolfe, have been trying to oust Mr. Melish against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the congregation. After the Rev. Irving S. Pollard of New York had declined their invitation to replace Mr. Melish, they and Bishop DeWolfe hastily invited the Rev. George W. Barnes. But "after prayerful consideration" Mr. Barnes declined and said:

> "My reasons are entirely personal. Implications that are involved as to Communism—alleged—of some of the people connected with the parish have no part in my decision. I was not intimidated in making my decision."

The anti-Melish vestrymen's leader Lewis G. Reynolds, unabashed by two ministers declining to replace Mr. Melish, said: "They'll find somebody eventually."

POINT OF LAW: Mr. Melish's supporters, who include three vestrymen and most of the parishioners, contend that the dissident vestrymen's actions were illegal. They point out that the dissident group meetings of two wardens and four vestrymen did not constitute a quorum which, according to the State Religious Corporation Law, required the presence of Holy Trinity's two wardens and five of nine vestrymen.

The dissidents contend that, since the vestry has two vacancies, their group of six made a quorum and their decisions were legal. But Mr. Melish's supporters contend that the Religious Corporation Law requires the quorum to include two wardens and a majority of vestrymen required by statute, irrespective of vacancies. They cite an earlier New York Supreme Court ruling which states that permitting decisions to be made by less than a majority of vestrymen required by law

> ". . . would certainly open a door for fraudulent and collusive resignations, and discourage the performance of the duty of filling vacancies."

FRUSTRATED BISHOP: In the latest move to oust Mr. Melish, Republican State Assemblyman Joseph R. Younglove of Johnstown has introduced a bill in the Legislature which would make a quorum legal if one warden and a vestry majority or two wardens and one less than a vestry majority were present. The bill in effect would permit Holy Trinity's dissident vestrymen to meet and repeat the resolution ousting Mr. Melish and be free from any court challenge.

In a statement issued last week, three vestrymen and a parishioner, speaking for the congregation, called for careful debate on the Younglove bill introduced

> ". . . at the request of a frustrated bishop acting with a rump vestry seeking to force upon a congregation a minister it does not want."

Hearing on an earlier court injunction barring Mr. Melish from conducting services at Holy Trinity has been indefinitely postponed. Affairs at Holy Trinity are proceeding normally. In a letter to the **Churchman** the Rev. Thomas F. Opie of Great Barrington, Mass., urged all "free-minded" Episcopalians to support Mr. Melish.

MATUSOW REVERSAL

Jencks' fate now in hands of high court

By Lawrence Emery

IT IS EXPECTED that some time this month the Supreme Court will decide whether or not it will review the conviction of Clinton Jencks, an officer of the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union. If it decides not to review, Jencks will go to prison for five years on a charge of falsely signing a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit in April, 1950. Progressive unionists are convinced that if he does go to prison, there will be more prosecutions under this section of the Taft-Hartley law.

Three years after he signed the affidavit, Jencks was indicted on two counts of lying when he said that he was not a member of nor "affiliated" with the Communist Party. He was brought to trial in January, 1954, in the U. S. District Court in El Paso, Tex., before Judge R. E. Thomason. Major witness against him was Harvey Matusow, then in the employ of the FBI.

TWENTY-TWO MINUTES: Jencks was a union leader, but there were no unionists on the jury. His union membership consisted overwhelmingly of Mexican-Americans and two-thirds of the population of El Paso are Mexican-Americans but there was no Mexican-American on the jury. In his instructions, Judge Thomason permitted maximum latitude in consideration of all the "evidence" and he conveniently defined "affiliation" as meaning something less than membership but more than sympathy. It took the jury only 22 minutes to bring in a guilty verdict on both counts. Matusow was praised by the prosecutor for his "fine cooperation":

"Your testimony was absolutely essential to a successful prosecution."

When Matusow switched and confessed that he had been a false witness, Jencks' lawyers moved for a new trial. In January, 1955, Judge Thomason conducted a hearing on this motion and Matusow swore on the stand that he had lied in his earlier testimony. Judge Thomason denied a new trial, then called Matusow before him and said:

"By recanting your former testimony, given in this court, which I believe in substance was true, you have in my opinion deliberately, designedly and maliciously attempted to obstruct the justice of this court."

He sentenced Matusow to three years in prison for contempt.

ENTER EASTLAND: On October 26, 1955, the U. S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans upheld both the Jencks conviction and the denial of a new trial. His lawyers promptly announced they would appeal to the Supreme Court. Meanwhile the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) had been conducting lengthy hearings on the Matusow recantations. When the hearings were done, the committee prepared a 120-page report on the case—and then sat on it for eight months. It was finally released on Dec. 30, the very day that Jencks' lawyers filed their petition for a Supreme Court review of his case. Sen. Eastland issued an accompanying statement in which he said:

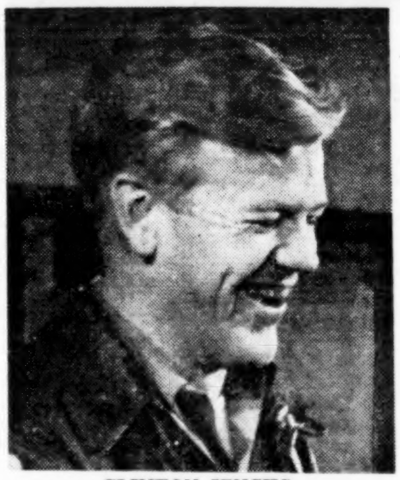
"The Subcommittee has every reason to believe that Matusow had been telling the truth in his testimony all along until he fell into the hands of the Communists last October [1954] and for thirty pieces of silver—that is, for a little money and notoriety—betrayed his own country to the Communist conspiracy."

The report itself called the Matusow recantations an "apparent conspiracy to obstruct justice." Subcommittee member Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.) announced he wasn't in full agreement with the report and would issue his own in a week or ten days, but he has failed to do so to date.

MATUSOW REVERSAL: Jencks' attorneys immediately charged that the Eastland report "interferes with the judicial process and is therefore highly improper and unethical." They pointed to the obvious timing of its release and added that besides the pending Jencks case, "two cases against Matusow are also pending, as well as a new trial which has been granted to two other persons against whom Judge Dimock in New York found Matusow had given false testimony." But there was no rebuke from any quarter to Sen. Eastland.

But on January 27 this year the U. S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans threw out the contempt conviction of Matusow on the ground that he had not received a fair hearing before Judge Thomason. It sent the case back to the Western Federal District of Texas "for proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion."

The next chapter in the Jencks case will be written by the Supreme Court.



CLINTON JENCKS
Five years on the word . . .

HARVEY MATUSOW
. . . of an admitted liar

Esperanto unstrung

SIR,—I hope that Mr. Molotov's use of Esperanto in replying to a Japanese organization, as reported by Viator, will not make people assume that Esperanto has political strings attached to it. . . . Recently the movement has made headway in Catholic countries like Italy and Brazil as well as in the "Liberal" northern countries, e.g., Sweden.

(Professor) **W. E. Collinson.**
University of Liverpool

Letter to the Editor,
Sunday Times, London, Jan. 29.

Patronize GUARDIAN Advertisers

EX-NAACP LEADER TARGET TOO

Home of minister bombed in Montgomery bus boycott

WHILE PRESIDENT Eisenhower and Prime Minister Eden were jointly invoking God in praise of Western democracy, Southern Negroes had to fight for the right to live. Violence against Negro leaders flared late last month in Montgomery, Ala., Pensacola, Fla., and Columbia, S. C.

On the night of Jan. 30, Rev. Martin Luther King, 27, of Montgomery was away from home. Left alone with their seven-week-old baby, Mrs. King heard "something hit the porch," then "a tremendous explosion." The blast smashed the cement porch and shattered windows. No one was injured.

Rev. King returned home 15 minutes after the explosion, told the 300 Negro neighbors gathered around the parsonage:

"Don't get panicky. Don't get any weapons. He who lives by the sword will perish by the sword. Remember, that is what God says."

LAW AND ORDER: Arriving at the scene, Police Commissioner Sellers promised to do everything "to bring the guilty parties to prison," and Mayor W. A. Gayle assured the people that the "entire white community is for law and order." Later, the City Council and the Central Alabama White Citizens Council each offered a $500 reward for information leading to conviction of the culprits.

Rev. King, head of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., has been the main spokesman for the Negroes boycotting Montgomery buses. The boycott began Dec. 5, when Mrs. Rosa Parks, a Negro seamstress, was fined for refuusing to give her seat to a white passenger. The boycott leaders have demanded courteous treatment from the bus drivers, a first-come, first-served seating arrangement and hiring of Negro drivers. Meanwhile boycotters use a volunteer car-pool system.

GET TOUGH: Violence had seemed inevitable ever since Mayor Gayle called for a get-tough policy against the boycotters and the police and the White Citizens Council began harassing Negroes in general and Rev. King in particular. Both Mayor Gayle and Police Commissioner Sellers are members of the White Citizens Council.

Police and WCC members have been touring the "pickup" lots where the volunteer jitneys assemble, arresting many drivers for "disorderly conduct." On Jan. 26 Rev. King, after he had taken on some passengers at a "pickup" lot, was arrested for speeding and fined $14.60. He has filed notice of appeal. He had received threatening telephone calls before his house was bombed. Only 24 hours earlier a Negro leader had said it would be "a miracle" if the situation did not lead to violence.

Long in Minneapolis Tribune
TALK ABOUT SEGREGATION!

BOMBS AWAY: Two nights after Sellers promised to "bring the guilty parties to prison," a bomb exploded in the front yard of the home of E. D. Nixon, former state NAACP president, who tried unsuccessfully to attend the Jefferson-Jackson dinner for Democratic party leaders at Birmingham last summer. On Feb. 2 Nixon received several threatening phone calls. The first said:

"If you don't get out of town quick we'll get you out of action with a gun or another bomb."

Nixon's response was:

"I've been threatened before and I haven't left yet. My wife and I are staying right here."

GUNFIRE IN THE NIGHT: On Jan. 27 the Pensacola, Fla., home of Dr. Charles Augustus, a Negro who had moved too close to a "white" neighborhood, was riddled by gunfire as the family slept. No one was injured, although the window in the children's bedroom was shattered.

In Columbia, S.C., shot-gun fire raked the home of state NAACP official James Hinton. Mrs. Hinton, the only one in the house at the time, escaped unhurt. Hinton has been a target of racists before. Once he was seized by night-riders, subjected to a harrowing car ride, told he was "too uppity," then released with a warning.

CALL FOR ACTION: Lyman Beecher Stowe, chairman of the Provisional Committee for Justice in Mississippi, has demanded federal action against the spreading violence. The need for such action was underscored by the news that the Montgomery White Citizens Council has invited Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.) to speak on Feb. 9. There could be **even more** serious trouble.

Let the laugh not be held blasphemy

THERE ARE, said Rochefort, 36 million subjects in France, not counting those who are discontented. Today France has seven million more subjects and the number of discontented has undergone a very considerable inflation. But that does not mean that to weep, whine, sigh and moan must be the first duty of the citizen.

The belly laugh and the sly smile . . . must not be held as blasphemy. It's the uneasy ones who wear a gloomy look; the stunted ones who have the pasty-face. But we who sing of tomorrows, we laugh — right now and without affectation.

Not that all humorists share with us all our thinking. But how could they be out of place in a paper which each day translates the hope of mankind and its certainty that one day soon France will be such that for each one there will be bread, roses and SOMETHING TO LAUGH ABOUT.

Smile my friends. It is not a photographer bidding you thus. It is a friend, all the more anxious to smooth the wrinkles—just because wrinkles are coming.

Andre Wurmser, **L'Humanite**, Dec. 24, 1955.

LEADING THE RESISTANCE FORCES

The NAACP grows in the face of the terror

By Eugene Gordon

ALABAMA'S LEGISLATURE is preparing a law to prevent fund-raising by the Negro's growing mass organization of resistance, the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People.

Georgia's attorney general, asserting that the NAACP's real design is "to force upon the South the Communist-inspired doctrine of racial integration and amalgamation," has branded the association "subversive" and asked the U. S. Attorney General to list it so.

Mississippi State Sen. Carl Evans, former FBI agent, is chairman of a group compiling a list of "subversive organizations" admittedly aimed at the NAACP.

S. Africa's "Suppression of Communism Act" used to suppress activities of the non-Communist African Natl. Congress—could have been in the minds of S. Carolina legislators when they recently linked the CP and the NAACP as twin evils. They proposed a law under which all persons "shall be forever barred from teaching" who do not, by next June, sign certificates denying CP and NAACP membership.

THE CHIEF TARGET: Governors, Dixiecrat congressmen, state legislators, state attorneys-general, mayors, sheriffs, bankers, planters, merchants and industrialists, organized throughout the Deep South as White Citizens Councils, attack the NAACP as the chief target.

The Ku Klux Klan at Elloree, Orange Co., S. C., sent caravans through the Negro section, held a rally and, just outside the town limits, attacked a local NAACP official by name and burned a cross. Mrs. H. F. Pierce, local NAACP vice president, received a death threat.

Acts followed threats in Clarendon County, S. C., when occupants of a speeding car peppered the house of NAACP leader Billie Fleming with buckshot. Some weeks earlier, they shotgunned the home of his uncle, the Rev. J. A. Delaine. Mr. Delaine, also prominent in the NAACP, returned the fire, then fled with his wife to New York. A fugitive complaint against him was dismissed in Felony Court Jan. 16.

Tapley in Amsterdam News, N. Y
Get rid of the clothespin!

The Rev. George W. Lee, killed in ambush at Belzoni last spring; LaMar Smith, killed on the courthouse grounds at Brookhaven last summer, and Gus Courts, shot down in his Belzoni grocery store this winter, were all Negro Mississippians who sought to vote and to get other Negroes to vote. The anti-labor Negro-hating Jackson (Miss.) **Clarion-Ledger & Daily News** (1/22) quoted the Prentiss (Miss.) **Headlight:**

"What the Negroes of the South need to realize is this: the NAACP is not an organization for the advancement of colored people. It is a hate organization, with communistic intent, devil-bent on destroying the harmonious relations between the Negro and the white race in the South. In Connecticut, for instance, the Negroes constitute only 2.7% of the population. Here in Mississippi the Negroes make up a third or more of our population. And they are much happier in their own churches, schools and organizations . . . and they need to speak out that they are."

THE NAACP GROWS: Yet, despite harsh state laws, extra-legal Councils and the KKK; despite surprise shots and bomb explosions at night, murder from ambush and economic ruination; despite a persistent pall of terror, NAACP membership in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, N. Carolina, Mississippi and S. Carolina increased last year by 13% over 1954. Director of branches Gloster B. Current reported to the 47th NAACP annual meeting recently that these increases occurred in "units, regional offices, state conferences, branches, youth councils and college chapters" to a total of nearly 300,000.

Allowing for regional and local differences, one may take the work of S. E. Region secretary Ruby Hurley as an example of the NAACP's underground fight for freedom in the Deep South.

Disguised as a field hand, this Washington-bred and college-trained young woman mingled with cotton pickers to investigate the Till murder and collect evidence no Mississippi prosecutor wanted. Mrs. Hurley helped to develop plans in S. Carolina and Mississippi to counter the White Citizens Councils' economic squeeze on Negro croppers, tenants and laborers known to favor the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling.

She and an assistant directed the NAACP's registration and voting campaign, investigated violations of the high court's decrees, worked with branches in filing petitions for court action. She obtained affidavits and lodged protests with the Justice Dept. on voting denials in Mississippi. She was under constant fire from early spring last year through December.

THE LEGAL FUND: NAACP's chapters at Claflin College and State College, Orangeburg, S. C., organized measures against the White Citizens Councils. They supervised picketing of the Texas State Fair at Dallas protesting segregation at the fair.

Picketing and other forms of "mass demonstration" are comparatively new NAACP practices. Its national leadership for years looked upon such devices as "radical" or "left," differing sharply with local leaders who had learned from experience. Some among the national leadership still object.

But the beginning of the NAACP's mass growth may be reckoned from 1939, when international and domestic pressures created the NAACP's Legal and Educational Fund, Inc. The Fund's purpose, says its charter, is

- "To render free legal aid to Negroes who suffer legal injustice because of their race or color and cannot afford to employ legal assistance.
- "To seek and promote educational opportunities denied Negroes because of their race or color.
- "To conduct research and publish information on educational facilities and inequalities furnished for Negroes out of public funds and on the status of the Negro in American life."

Other NAACP activities—efforts to influence legislation, initiating programs of "direct action"—depended on mass support and mass demonstrations. So today, for the first time in NAACP history, trade union groups, churches and fraternal organizations supply it with blocks of members—including white persons—accustomed to demonstrating en masse for what they consider to be their constitutional rights.

New perches for jimcrow

Jackson, Miss., officials look on while a Negro city worker is made to stencil new jimcrow signs for the railroad station. When the Interstate Commerce Commission found segregation on the rails unconstitutional, Illinois Central RR workers took down the old signs. The city had new ones made and prepared to enforce jimcrow in a South that seemed unwilling to wait for freedom even in waiting rooms.

Together

Heroism and a hug leave both men col
Clossom (left), of the 11th Airborne para
from 3,000 feet. As he plummeted past his
Closson's parachute lines and held them

4 SCORE AND 17 YEARS AGO

What really under Reco

THE NAACP on Jan. 1, 1953, began its present crusade to achieve complete freedom by Jan. 1, 1963. Last Jan. 1, with seven to go, it was exactly 93 years since President Lincoln issued his proclamation of Emancipation. During this Negro History Week celebration U. S. Negroes recall the Reconstruction period because they are still fighting to restore rights lost when the South-North compromise of 1876 destroyed the democratic Reconstruction governments.

The stories on these pages were compiled by Eugene Gordon, the GUARDIAN's Negro Affairs editor.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in his **Black Reconstruction** says:

"The whole history of Reconstruction has, with few exceptions, been written by believers in the inferiority of the Negro. The whole body of facts concerning what the Negro actually said or did, how he worked, what he wanted, for whom he voted, is masked in such a cloud of charges, exaggerations and biased testimony that most students have given up all attempt at new material or new evaluation, and simply repeat perfunctorily all the current legends. . . .

"Most unfair caricatures of Negroes have been carefully preserved, but serious speeches, successful administration and upright character are forgotten. When a student tried to write on education in Florida he found that the official records of the excellent administration of the colored Supt. of Education, Gibbs, who virtually established the Florida public schools, had been destroyed."

The defeated Confederates, before the Reconstruction governments were established, legalized the whipping of ex-slaves for "vagrancy"—that is, for refusing to work under orders at whatever wages offered. **Arrested and fined,**

ther for life

en color blind. The parachute of Sgt. James e paratroopers, didn't open when he jumped ast his buddy, Pvt. Leslie Smith, Smith grasped them until both reached the ground safely.

AGO

ally happened construction

its lete . 1, ears roc- this J.S. pe- to vere AR- uth- oyed gov- lack ruc- been ority of ac- ked, oted, rges, mony up new per- s.... Ne- rved, ad- acter tried he the col- who pub- efore were g of for hat- ined,

"vagrants" were usually forced to work for their former owners without pay.

The law forbade Negroes' testifying in court against white persons; punished Negroes for possessing arms or staying out after a certain hour at night, or "insulting" white persons "by gestures" or otherwise. Anti-Confederacy speeches brought imprisonment for "sedition."

As the White Citizens Councils today justify their actions on grounds of "self-defense," so did the Confederates. Then came the Reconstruction governments, which temporarily—for about 10 years—endowed the Negro with full citizenship rights and responsibilities.

The **N. Y. Teacher News** (1/14) lists the following as among the Reconstruction's accomplishments:

- Abolition of discrimination for race, creed or color.
- Provision for free, unsegregated public schools.
- Expansion of women's rights; divorce law established for first time in many states.
- Enfranchisement of so-called poor whites as well as ex-slaves; abolition of property qualifications for voting.
- Abolition of slavery.
- Abolition of imprisonment for debt.
- Abolition of the whipping post, the branding iron, the stocks, and other such remnants of feudal punishment.
- Institution of popular government for local government.
- Placement of the judiciary under popular control.

Dr. Carter G. Woodson, founder of Negro History Week, wrote in **The Negro in our History**: "The reconstructionists accomplished definite results which will continue to bear fruit as long as political and social institutions exist in this country."

THE BOTTOM OF THE SCALE

The plight of Negro women --- and what it means to labor

BEING an attractive woman, Mrs. Marjorie Murphy would have enhanced the office staff's eye-appeal considerably. She preferred instead to become the first Negro woman Westinghouse Electric had ever put on its Jersey City elevator-plant production line. As a relay assembler, she dresses very much like her husband, James, first Negro machinist in the same shop. Both belong to Local 456, United Electrical Workers, on strike now four months. At work, he's shop chairman and she is a member of the Welfare Committee; on strike, he's picket line captain and she is in charge of relief applications.

Talking with a GUARDIAN reporter in Welfare Committee headquarters last week about Negro-white relations among U. S. workers, Mrs. Murphy said:

> "The White Citizens Councils couldn't operate where Negro and white were unionized. It would be impossible for them to get together to attack Negroes if white women and Negro women were together in unions. Three things will change the situation in Mississippi: industry, the union and education—training, I mean, of mind and hand. Now, an organization of Negro women and white women, led by those from the trade unions, could do a wonderful job! An organization of such women is absolutely necessary, in my opinion."

THE REAL MEASURE: Organized white women in the South of the twenties protested at being used as an excuse for lynching Negro men. "We can take care of our virtue ourselves," they said. Organized Negro women still struggle to elevate themselves and their families. An organization exclusively of Negro and of white women aimed at fighting for the rights of both has never been formed. A Negro woman at the founding convention of the Natl. Negro Labor Council in 1951 drew cheers when she said that "progress of American workers and the Negro people can best be measured by the status of Negro women." Another speaker said Negro working women were lowest down the scale, socially and economically, and working people as a whole would be held down until they was emancipated.

RESULT OF SLAVERY: Mrs. Maida Springer, business agent and representative of the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers Union, ILGWU, wrote in the 1954 Labor Day number of the Pittsburgh **Courier** that the Negro woman's inferior position

> ". . . is a direct result of the vicissitudes and cruelty of the American slave system, which called for the bartering of males without regard for family ties and emotional dependency."

Such "irrationalities" as that "women are incapable of work which requires any amount of concentration" and "women have no administrative skill," Mrs. Springer declared, persisted with special sharpness against Negro women, though discredited by wartime performance of these women.

Negro leaders of the resistance movement agree that the status of Negro women cannot be separated from the Negro people's in general. Most also agree with Mrs. Murphy that the status of Negro women deserves special consideration. Secy.-Treas. Maurice Travis of the Mine-Mill and Smelter Workers once told fellow unionists that

> ". . . whenever and wherever there has been a genuine unity of Negro and white workers, unity around a program of action, the whole country has moved ahead."

He cited the period just after the Emancipation and "that kind of genuine unity between Negro and white workers under FDR in the 1930's" to prove his point. He added:

> "On the other hand, wherever there has been no unity between Negro and white workers, there the Negroes have been kept back and the white workers have been pulled back, too. Now, this is a big and important idea, which white workers must be made to understand clearly—and quickly! What this means is that the fight for Negro rights is not a matter of big-brotherhood or paternalism or generosity on the part of white workers. It is a matter of life or death for the white workers themselves. **The white supremacists and their political stooges do not intend that the trigger, the lash and the noose shall be reserved for Negroes only. They intend that ALL workers shall feel the lash of reaction—if they do not comply. They intend to divide us on any grounds they can.**"

PROGRAM OF ACTION: A 1951 Negro Council resolution proposed a program which, still unrealized, could set the pattern for the kind of a movement Mrs. Murphy suggested:

- The whole trade union movement should act "to win job opportunities for Negro women throughout industry, in offices, department stores, public utilities, air lines.
- "To support the organization of domestic workers, North and South," and seek improvement of their working conditions.
- To begin a program of job training and upgrading, "giving special attention to Negro women and the youth."
- The trade union movement, "realizing the Negro woman's ability and willingness to give leadership to their families, should demand their right to play a comparable role in government, industry and the unions."

Chicago Defender

I'll take it from here.

CONVERSATION FROM LIFE

She took my hand and said: 'I want to be friends'

By Alice Childress

Alice Childress' "Conversation From Life" series appears in the Negro monthly Freedom. *Each "conversation" between the narrator and her domestic-worker friend caustically mirrors aspects of her daily troubles in her home. Miss Childress has written such plays as* Gold Through the Trees *and* Trouble in Mind. *She is well known also as an actress.*

MARGE, sometimes it seems like the devil and all his imps are tryin' to wear your soul case out. . . . Sit down, Marge, and act like you got nothin' to do. . . . No, don't make no coffee, just sit. . . .

Today was laundry day and I took Mrs. M's clothes down to the basement to put them in the automatic machine. In a little while another houseworker comes down—a white woman. She dumps her clothes on the bench and, since my bundle is already in the washer, I go over to sit down on the bench and happen to brush against her dirty clothes. . . . Well, sir! She gives me a kinda sickly grin and snatched her clothes away, quick. . . .

Now, you know, Marge, that it was nothin' but the devil in her makin' her snatch that bundle away, 'cause she thought I might give her folks gallopin' pellagra or somethin'. Well, honey, you know what the devil in me wanted to do! . . . You are right! . . . My hand was just itchin' to pop her in the mouth, but I remembered how my niece Jean has been tellin' me that **poppin'** people is not the way to solve problems. So I calmed myself and said: "Sister, why did you snatch those things and look so flustered?" She turned red and says: "I was just makin' room for you." Still keepin' calm, I says: "You are a liar." . . . And then she hung her head.

"SISTER," I said, "you are a houseworker and I am a houseworker—now, will you favor me by answering some questions?" She nodded her head. The first thing I asked her was how much she made for a week's work and, believe it or not, Marge, she earns less than I do and **that ain't easy**. . . . Then I asked her: "Does the woman you work for ask you in a **friendly** way to do extra things that ain't in the bargain, and then later on get **demandin'** about it?" She nods, yes. "Tell me, young woman," I went on, "does she cram eight hours of work into five and call it **part time?**" She nods yes, again. . . .

"Now, young lady," I went on, "I'm going to get personal. I notice you speak with an accent. Tell me, do you have to register as a foreigner under the Walter-McCarran Act?" She nods yes, again. "Now, I know you are probably scared that if you are halfway decent to me you'll be shipped out of here faster than greased lightnin', but am **I** doin' any of these things to you?" She shakes her head "no." . . .

Then, Marge, I added: "I am not your enemy, so don't get mad with me just because you ain't free!" . . . Then she speaks up fast: "I am free!" "All right," I said. "How about me goin' over to your house tonight for supper?" "Oh" she says, "I room with people and I don't think they. . . ." I cut her off. "If you're free," I said, "you can pick your own friends without fear."

WAIT A MINUTE, Marge, let me tell it, now. . . . "How come," I asked her, "the folks I work for are willin' to have me put my hands all over their chopped meat patties and yet ask me to hang my coat in the kitchen closet instead of in the hall with theirs?" By this time, Marge, she looked pure bewildered. "Oh," she said, "It's all so mixed up I don't understand!"

"Well, it'll all get clearer as we go along," I said. "Now, when you got to plunge your hands in all them dirty clothes in order to put them in the machine, how come you can't see that it's a whole lot safer and makes more sense to put your hand in mine and be friends?" Well, Marge, she took my hand and said: "I want to be friends!"

I was so glad I hadn't popped her, Marge. The good Lord only knows how hard it is to do things the right way and make peace. . . . All right, now, let's have the coffee, Marge.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND—II

Labour's leaders and the working stiffs--and the great gulf between

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN the respectably impotent movement that right-wing leaders have tried to make of British Labour, and what it may nonetheless be at the working stiffs' level, is well illustrated in Middlesbrough. This Tees-side community is now industrially dominated by the huge Imperial Chemical Industries plant.

I gave my talk on "Understanding America" at the Trade Union & Social Club, a family community-center bubbling with activity (dances, good movies, educational programs) and soundly militant discussion of group problems. The non-inclusion of such

Belfrage tells of U.S. 'thought police'

THE MATERIAL standard of living in America is very high. But millions of Americans must exhaust themselves with overtime and double work to get it. Millions more still lack countless things they need.

This was the picture of life in the United States sketched in Middlesbrough Trade Union Club last night by Mr. Cedric applied the maxim—"Liberty can ill be defended by those who practise it ill."

'Higher order'

Mr. Belfrage said he was convinced the whole world stood on the threshold of a new, higher co-operative order, towards which every country must move or accept a period of conflict. So

Middlesbrough Evening Gazette, Jan. 19, 1956

centers in the "welfare state's" plans is the outstanding failure of the post-war housing developments, which exchange city slum homes for new but remoter homes without social facilities. Middlesbrough's most active trade unionists, largely with their own hands, converted two old houses into the club to which they added a handsome meeting and social hall.

ROOM FOR ALL: The speaker preceding myself on this season's lecture program was barrister D. N. Pritt, defender of Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta and a leader in the Rosenberg campaign here. After the lecture, the audience of some 140 moves into the bar to continue the discussion informally, and you discover how broad the club membership is.

The only requirement is to belong to a union. Sitting around a table with town Councillors, Trades Council officials and others, within minutes somebody mentions in a casual way that he is a Communist. You look behind you instinctively to see if some FBI snoop or Labour Party blacklisting expert is eavesdropping, but nobody else seems alarmed or even concerned. Then you learn that the club—which has a 1,000 waiting-list for membership—was founded largely on the instigation of the Communist president of Middlesbrough Trades Council; that it has many enthusiastic Roman Catholic members; that its committee consists of ten Labourites, three Communists and three non-party people; and that its meeting hall was opened last year by Clement Attlee.

HOW THE BLACKLIST WORKS: Such broad organizations are few and far from easy to bring to life; but Leeds, for example, has a Joint Action peace set-up co-ordinating the Trades Council, Friends, Methodist Peace Fellowship, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Peace Pledge Union (pacifist) and the eight West Yorkshire peace committees which the Labour Party has blacklisted. (The blacklist forbids Labour Party members to join because co-operation with Communists is banned.)

So what gives in this twilight world of blacklists? Here is how it works in practice:

- Members of proscribed organizations may not participate as such in the Labour Party or any affiliate thereof, but actual CP members often do participate on the highest levels as delegates of unions or trades councils.
- General workers' respect for Communists is indicated by the frequency with which they are elected as shop stewards—"the chap who goes to the boss to tell him what the other chaps would like to tell him if they had the courage."
- In Hull, Quaker businessman Alec Horsley, who has made two trips to the U. S. S. R. and often lectures on it to church groups, is chairman of the proscribed Peace Council to which I spoke. Although he cannot be a Labour Party member, Labourites put him in as Sheriff last year and still ask him to stand for Parliament. He is on the closest terms with the city's Labourite Aldermen and Councillors.

CAN'T STOP THE TREND: All East-West friendship and all (except religious and pacifist) peace organizations are blacklisted. But in 1952 the union in Middlesbrough's Imperial Chemical Industries plant elected and paid for a Labour Councillor to represent them at the Vienna peace congress (ICI fired him when he returned). When left Labourites in Spen Valley formed an unaffiliated peace group which supported the Vienna congress, the party hierarchy sought to make an example by expelling the lot. There were many other expulsions, but the trend continued. Last year, out of 60 British delegates to the Helsinki conference, some 20 were Labourites. This time only one was expelled—a popular Councillor in his community near Halifax.

The rank and file today are sickening of blacklists and expulsions, and the party right-wingers must move with caution. Soviet workers' delegations visiting Yorkshire (with Labour Councillors joining in civic receptions to them), and Yorkshiremen visiting the U. S. S. R. and China, have had their effect. Recently the asst. medical officer of Leeds, a completely non-political man, reported to that city's Council on his Soviet trip. He said his chief impression was that the Soviets were "wasting manpower"—because they have one doctor to every 700 people. Asked what Soviet medical care was like, he said: "Well, about the same as ours would be if we had medical centers." Lack of such centers is the most often-heard Labourite complaint against Britain's national health service.

THE HIGH PRICE: Nevertheless all agree—and it is quickly obvious—that the right-wingers' blacklist-expulsion drive has "done terrible things to the Labour Party" as a Halifax progressive put it to me:

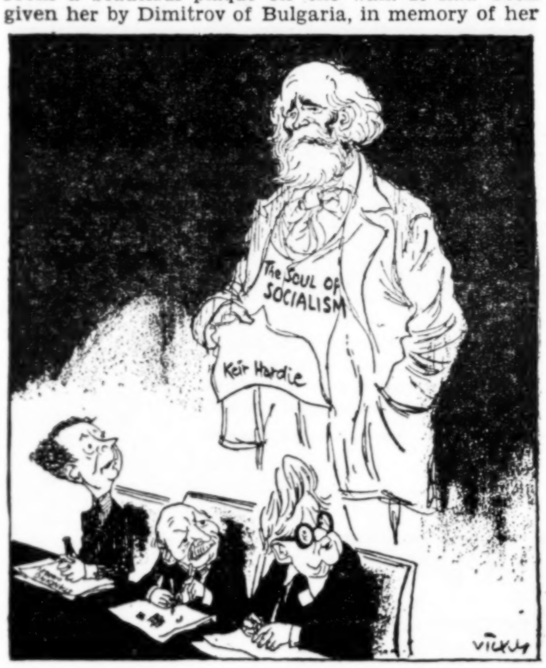
> "The last general election showed the resulting internal rot, and there are important areas today where there is no Labour Party activity at all. Wherever you have had a lively local party, you were bound to come into a clash with the right-wingers. In some ways the process has been an educational one. The membership have learned what blacklisting does in sapping their own forces. But it's expensive education when what they see is their party smashing itself to pieces."

On my tour I have met several Communists, of whose integrity and patience in finding effective ways to work I formed a high impression. In Hull I was introduced to the university faculty, including many Tory professors, by the organizer of the faculty discussion group who is well known as a Communist. It is all extremely un-American in the un-American sense; but in this country political witch-hunts produce an almost universally frosty reaction. One factor is perhaps that Roman Catholics—whose know-nothing elements do so much to spark organized intolerance in America—are sparse in Britain; yet in northern British areas where Irish Catholic stock is plentiful, such elements are "not doing so badly," as one trade unionist said, in "infiltrating from the Right."

THE WORK GOES FORWARD: As for the proscribed peace committees, they are doing a fine job under the circumstances: the audiences they draw are broad, with many religious and non-party adherents, but small because of the Labour blacklist. Yet my smallest audience numbered about 60, whereas respectable Tory and Labour public meetings draw only handfuls. (In one town the Tories recently presented three cabinet ministers, drew an audience of seven.)

As long as blacklist-minded right-wingers dominate the Labour Party, Britain's working class will remain a long way from the unity it needs to take its majority over the top to socialism. The rank and file, as in America, are frightened to co-operate with militants tagged "red"; but the need for such co-operation to attain their goal is sinking in ever more deeply. The younger workers who do not remember Spain, and were too young for awareness of the grand anti-fascist alliance of World War II, have to learn the old lesson slowly by experience. Those who have already learned it, and do not forget, are few but—as in America—shine out in bright patches everywhere.

THE LEARNING PROCESS: An enduring Yorkshire memory is going after a meeting to the home of a white-haired woman, who showed me in her living room a beautiful plaque on the wall. It had been given her by Dimitrov of Bulgaria, in memory of her



Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

British officer son whom Bulgaria had declared a national hero. Heading a British expedition into Bulgaria to contact the World War II partisans, he had been betrayed to the Gestapo and died—silent on all that he knew, which was much—after two weeks of torture. The mother did not have to explain why she is active in the Halifax peace committee in spite of blacklists.

Another memory is of the young trade unionist who, speaking to me about a Trades Council leader in Stockton, said:

"A splendid chap. The only thing I don't like is his politics. He's a Communist. But if all Communists were like him, it'd be different."

"How many other Communists do you know?" I asked.

"None," he said.

Such workers are finding out that Communists, like any other group, may be good, bad or indifferent; and that the good ones are very good indeed to have around when it comes to a showdown with the bosses. That showdown is not far off.

OUT-DOING DEWEY

Harriman pushes a permanent witch-hunt of all state employes and job seekers

GOV. HARRIMAN of New York last week was reportedly planning to amend the witch-hunt regulations established by his predecessor Thomas E. Dewey. Harriman proposed to make them stiffer and permanent.

In 1951 Dewey used the Korean war to push a bill through the Legislature declaring a "public emergency" and disqualifying from public employment all those "deemed dangerous to the national welfare, safety and security." He said then:

> "The bill is a temporary measure designed to ensure the greatest possible co-operation of state agencies with federal agencies in providing for the defense of this country and supporting its policies in foreign affairs."

EXTENDED 4 TIMES: The measure was to expire June 30, 1952. It has been extended for one-year periods ever since.

Under the existing law, state or municipal civil service commissions decide which departments qualify as "security" agencies. Then, if there are complaints against individuals in those agencies, the investigative apparatus is set in motion.

For the last two months Harriman and his advisers have been considering what to do about the law. Last week the N. Y. **Post** said that Harriman will shortly ask the Legislature to make the "Security Risk" Law permanent. He will also seek to amend the Civil Service Law to "regularize" security checks on all new state and city employes and on all those promoted after passage of the proposed amendment.

QUESTIONNAIRE TOO: The **Post** cited reports that all state and city employes, including teachers, might be required to fill out a questionnaire concerning their affiliation with organizations on the Attorney General's list.

George Rundquist, executive director of the N. Y. Civil Liberties Union, came out firmly against any such questionnaire. He told the **Post**:

> "We have been alerted to this bill that the Administration is planning to introduce. We haven't been able to get anything official on it. It seems to us that if there are any sensitive agencies in the state, the department itself can deal with such 'security risks' under existing laws."

From Puerto Rico

ROOSEVELT, P. R.

I only want to reiterate to you my most sincere thanks and gratefulness for your fine cooperation in all this time. I only regret not to be able to help that wonderful and courageous paper in the same measure that it has helped my spirit and character, keeping them up in this collapsing environment. Long live the courageous men!

Basilio Lopez-Ramos

War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

launched what the Alsops (1/29) called "an offensive all along the line . . . on the issue of national defense . . . [to last] throughout the current session and up to election day."

The Democrats had chosen for their campaign theme the charge that the Administration had subordinated military ependitures to "politics." Sen. Jackson (D-Wash.) led off with "the most sombre speech on a military subject heard in the Senate in several years" (**NYT**, 2/1). He demanded a "crash" program of missile development "with all the urgent psychology of wartime."

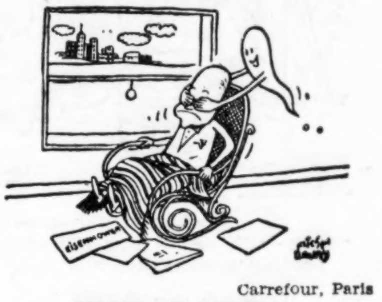
In the midst of a California speech largely concerned with this same theme, Adlai Stevenson found a few words to urge "careful consideration" of the Soviet proposal lest the U.S. "appear to the free peoples of the world either to reject offers of friendship or to submit to blackmail."

NO REAL AGREEMENT: The bankruptcy of Western policy was further exposed by the patent failure of the Eden-Eisenhower talks to produce any new initiatives, thoughts, or even mutual agreements, on the questions discussed. The Anglo-American decision to consult France about the Middle East appeared to the Paris **Le Monde** "a rather easy way of camouflaging their indecision by putting off until later an examination of the problems."

The final communique made a "watery reaffirmation" (Manchester **Guardian**) of Western objectives in the Middle East, but did not indicate how these were to be achieved. The coming talks with France were expected to produce agreement on "secret measures"—involving use of the U.S. 6th Fleet, with its air and marine units, and British ground and air forces in Libya, Iraq and Cyprus—"in the event of aggression or threatened aggression" in the area (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 2/3).

In general, Eden (most of whose talks were with Dulles) failed to secure any British objective. There was no agreement on limiting H-bomb tests, and the U.S. refused to help Britain evolve an atomic submarine engine. It also refused to support its ally in its conflict with Saudi Arabia over the Buraimi Oasis.

BRITAIN BACK-TRACKS: In the Far East too Britain knuckled under. It agreed to defer the question of China's admission to the UN until after the 1956 UN Assembly; got no commitments from the U.S. not to go to war over Quemoy and Matsu. And it abandoned its plan to relax controls on its trade with the USSR. In return, it got a U.S. promise to "consider" relaxation of controls on a limited number of items. In both Hong Kong and Japan, where the question of China trade is vital, it was felt there would be little change in the overall pattern of the embargo. But some British sources saw a definite move toward opening the China trade.



Carrefour, Paris

SPIRIT OF GENEVA
"Guess who!"

Most significant, perhaps, was Canada's announcement, at the conclusion of the Anglo-American talks in Washington, that it would defer for the time being recognition of China. The principal reason cited was "the interests and views of our allies."

The chief product of the Anglo-American talks was the pompously-titled Washington Declaration. This "tired document full of phrases heard many times before" (**N.Y. Post**, 2/2) was beamed round the world as the West's answer to what **CSM** (2/3) called "the cold war forays the U.S.S.R. has launched under the white flag of the Geneva pseudo-truce." The **NYT** (2/2) summed it up as "a solemn warning to the colonial and newly sovereign peoples of Asia and Africa against looking to Moscow for economic or political help."

I. F. Stone's Weekly commented (2/6): "It is difficult to fathom the mentalities that seriously believe such tripe can have a strategic effect on the miserable, the ignorant and the rebellious in the outer world."

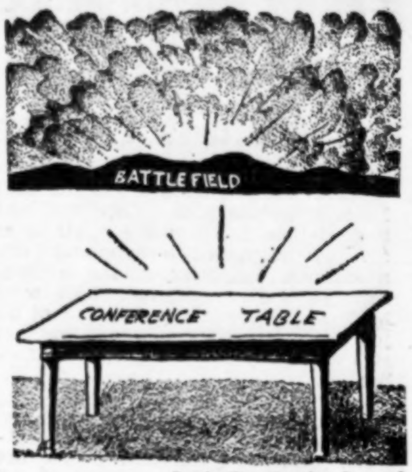
WHAT IS THE "THREAT"? The U.S.S.R.'s so-called "cold war forays" refer to the moves by the socialist countries to conclude trade and economic assistance agreements with underdeveloped countries. Such are the "threats," "dangers," "infiltrations" and "subversions" of which Western spokesmen continually warn and against which the Washington Declaration is directed.

To the industrially under-developed countries these trade and economic pacts spell progress toward industrialization, hence toward political and economic independence, and slowly rising living standards. Year in year out, the UN General Assembly passes resolutions calling on its members to give just such aid to industrially backward countries. All that is threatened, said one UN observer in commenting on the Washington Declaration, are colonial profits and the Western profit system.

What the West faces today, Joseph C. Harsch wrote (**CSM**, 1/27), is "the decisive breaking of a monopoly in industrial power which has been the strength of the western world for a century and a half." The monopoly has been broken by a non-Western socialist country which in one long generation has transformed itself from an illiterate semi-feudal society, disorganized and devastated by war, into the world's second industrial power; whose scientific achievements rival the best the West has produced and which has "left the West lagging hopelessly behind in technical education" (London **News Chronicle**, 1/16).

NEW 5-YEAR PLAN: For the West, the crucial question is, said Lippmann (1/26), "whether the Soviet Union is to become the model . . . the principal guide and supplier in the industrial development" of the under developed countries. What is frightening Western governments is the "fascination" (as Secy. Dulles called it) that the Soviet example of bootstrap industrialization has for such countries.

This fright has deepened with publication of the Sixth Five Year Plan directives, which Western experts concede will be fulfilled. Reviewing the U.S.S.R.'s industrial accomplishments, **Newsweek** (2/6) warned against underestimating Soviet capabilities and called for a "new and constructive dimension in U.S. foreign policy that will capitalize on the capitalism that made this country great."



Louisville Courier Journal

. . . And never the twain shall meet?

"A SHEER NIGHTMARE": But in Washington there was no sign of any "new dimension" of this or any other sort. The emphasis was rather on a renewed military buildup. This emphasis is in line with Washington's policy over the past decade, one of piling nuclear threat on nuclear threat. But this, as Walter Millis pointed out three years ago (**NYHT**, 3/21/53) is not a policy, not a strategy, but "a sheer nightmare."

Few Americans realize the extent to which Washington's effort to retain a dominant and privileged world position by building more and more weapons of incredible destructive power—and threatening to use them—has alienated the peoples of the world. A report by the **NYT's** correspondent in India (**Sunday Magazine**, 2/5) on how India views the U.S. is revealing. Indians, he wrote, "think we have become almost insanely casual about threatening to use atom bombs."

And Prime Minister Nehru, whose views command a world audience, "feels our foreign policy comes not only to the verge of war but to the verge of madness."

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For D. Parker

DOYLESTOWN, PA.

Kindly make me a subscriber for a year to the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Someone sent me a copy of the interview with Charles Chaplin. I also note that Dorothy Parker spoke at your anniversary. I'm for D. Parker. That's enough.

W. Lester Traub

IN MEMORIAM

"Good Night Sweet Prince"
in loving memory of a wonderful person
BERNARD PETERS
who loved all humanity
Beloved husband, father, grandfather. Died Feb. 9, 1955.
He rests in peace; let us live in peace

CASE OF KENNETH McCLASKEY

Seattle NLRB aide fired for belonging to British CP for six months in 1936

KENNETH McCLASKEY has been with the Seattle office of the Natl. Labor Relations Board since 1937 and in that time has proved himself to be articulately opposed to communism and a staunch supporter of the government's security program. Last week McClaskey himself was done out of his job under security regulations, but was still staunchly for the program. Said he:

"I consider the Federal security program to be extremely necessary. When such a program is being carried out, some innocent people are going to be hurt. . . . One of my duties as a citizen is to take such injury in stride to the best of my ability."

OXFORD IN 1936: McClaskey is 45, a Democrat, active in civic affairs and an all-around high-type citizen who for a time was No. 2 man in his regional office. Even Republicans respected him. His current troubles date back to what he considers a youthful indiscretion while he was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford: for about six months in 1936-37 he was a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain. He says now:

"I left it all behind when I left Oxford. . . . I am a loyal and devoted citizen. . . . I abhor and despise the Communist movement."

In his government service he has readily signed all documents requiring him to swear that he has never belonged to an organization advocating the violent overthrow of the U.S. government; he insists his answer was truthful because the violent overthrow of the U.S. government had hardly been part of the program of the British CP in 1937.

SUSPENDED WITHOUT PAY: But in 1952 he was called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He freely told all. Later he was questioned by the NLRB and the FBI and again talked freely. But the NLRB suspended him and for a year and a half he went without pay.

A government security board cleared him in April, 1954, but the NLRB didn't inform him of the action for another six weeks—still without pay. Then it offered to bargain with him: it would give him "full clearance" if he resigned. He declined. The agency then offered to take him back if he would accept a demotion; to this he agreed. So he was fired one day as chief field examiner, rehired the next day in a lower post. In the process, unbeknown to him at the time, he forfeited about $4,000 in back pay. He asked for a copy of the security board's decision in his case, never got one. But he remained loyal.

AN OFFER REJECTED: Last Nov. 3 Sen. Joe McCarthy announced that the NLRB is "literally honeycombed" with Communist sympathizers and he cited eight "case histories." He mentioned no names but the Seattle Times has since reported that it has learned McClaskey was one of the eight. Later it became known that the House Un-American Activities Committee planned to follow up the McCarthy charges with hearings in the West in the spring.

Less than a month after the McCarthy charge, McClaskey was informed that NLRB general counsel Theophil C. Kammholz planned to fire him but would give him a chance to resign. McClaskey turned down the offer. On Dec. 2 he was notified that his firing was imminent; three days later he was barred from his office and placed on annual leave. On Jan. 6 Kammholz rejected a long statement from McClaskey and the dismissal became formal and final. The stated ground was based on a clause in the Veterans Preference Act of 1944 which permits firing to "promote the efficiency of the service."

McClaskey calls the charge "false and frivolous" and says he will appeal to the Civil Service Commission and will go to court if he loses there. He said:

"This action bespeaks deliberate and willful persecution of a devoted, efficient civil servant for having the integrity to be candid with his government."

Herblock in Washington Post

"Same with me. I was just sitting, reading a magazine, and ——"

386 to 1

ON FEB. 1 the House voted an appropriation of $275,000 for its Committee on Un-American Activities by a vote of 386 to 1. Lone dissenter was Rep. Roy W. Weir (D-Minn.). The sum makes a total of $500,000 granted the committee by the Democratic-controlled 84th Congress. Earlier the committee had announced that it will go to Los Angeles and to Denver in April and May to look for subversives in the NLRB.

Old Harry

BRONX, N.Y.

I wish this were $500 instead of $5—you're the heart of the human race—Americans, Chinese, Indians, et al. I promise to send some extras along real soon. Am not starving but really working like the Old Harry to make a living.

My very best to the entire staff.

M. S.

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JOSEPH FORER, Esq.
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FREEDOM
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sat., feb. 18, 8:30 p.m.
the pythian, 135 w. 70th st.
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CALENDAR

Boston

CORLISS LAMONT speaks on "WHY I AM A HUMANIST" at Community Church Center, 565 Boylston St., Mon., Feb. 27, 8 p.m. (This ad inserted by an admirer).

Chicago

Commemoration Negro History Wk. **YOUR FREEDOM AND NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS.** Hear up-to-date analysis of civil rights events and their effect on constitutional and political pattern in America. Fri., Feb. 17, 8 p.m., Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Donation: 50c. Ausp.: American Socialist Forum.

PETE SEEGER in a concert for the entire family. Albany Park Center, 4825 N. Kedzie Av. Sun., Feb. 19, 2 p.m. Auspices: Chicago Sobell Committee.

New York

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Feb. 13, 8:30-10 p.m.—What Is the Relation Between Means and Ends?
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MODERN NOVEL AS IMAGE OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS
Lecturers: Mr. Francis Bartlett, psychotherapist; and Dr. Frederic Ewen, literary critic. (Both speakers will participate at each session). Feb. 16, 8:30-10 p.m.—Dostoievsky: "Crime and Punishment."
Tuition: $1 per session.

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"BICYCLE THIEF,"** Feb. 11. Vittorio DeSica's masterpiece on the struggle of the common man. Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm.: Members, $1. non-members, $1.25. Next week: **PICKWICK PAPERS** (British).

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FEATURE EVENT for NEGRO HISTORY WEEK: Beulah Richardson, noted dramatist; special historical exhibition; classical concert singer; film shorts. Guest speaker: William L. Patterson. Sun., Feb. 12, 7:45 p.m. Sunrise Manor, 1638 Pitkin Av., Brooklyn. Cont.: 75c. Ausp.: Gilgoff-Stone ALP.

CARL BRADEN
reports on his 3,800 mile tour of the South
CONRAD LYNN
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NEGRO HISTORY MEETING
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Next **GUARDIAN THEATRE PARTY "UNCLE VANYA,"** Tues., March 13. Orch. seats $4.50. Call or write 17 Murray St. WO 4-3960.

Gala Negro History Week Jubilee! ALP, 3410 B'way (138th St.), Rm. 201. Sat., Feb. 11, 8:30 p.m. Original Play **"DESPERADOES,"** by Topical Theatre Group, musical numbers by **FREEDOM CHORUS.** Hear Ben Atkins and Ramona Garrett on "The Meaning of Negro History Month." Refreshments, Dancing. Contribution: 75c.

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on the occasion of Negro History Week, Sun., Feb. 12, 7 p.m., Jefferson School, 575 6th Av.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7

JEFFERSON SCHOOL FOLK DANCE EVENINGS with Edith Segal. Fri., Feb. 10, 8:30 p.m. Weekly thereafter. Adm. 75c. 575 6th Av.

HEAR LOUIS BURNHAM, editor of Freedom, on "SOUTHERN POLITICS: Minority Rule," Thurs., Feb. 16, 8:30 p.m. Village ALP, 28 Greenwich Av. Admission: Free.

San Francisco

ANNA LOUISE STRONG speaks on "What Happened in India: World Importance of Soviet-Asian Agreements." Fri., Feb. 17, 8 p.m., 150 Golden Gate Av. Tickets now, 50c. American Russian Institute, 90 McAllister St.

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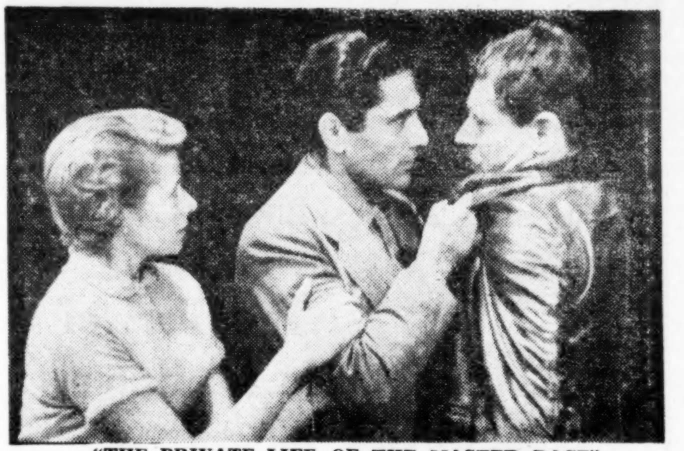

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DR. MEIKLEJOHN JOINS

Tribute to Dr. France Feb. 19

DR. ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN, educator and civil liberties champion, will join in the tribute to Dr. Royal W. France at the World Fellowship dinner, Sunday eve., Feb. 19, at the Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57th St., N. Y. Dr. Barrows Dunham will deliver the main address. Other speakers include Dr. Otto Nathan, associated with Dr. France in the peace movement; Frank Donner for the Natl. Lawyers Guild; Dr. Clark Foreman for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, editor of the **Churchman,** for the Religious Freedom Committee; and Dr. Willard Uphaus for the World Fellowship of Faiths, sponsoring the dinner.

The dinner will mark the 50th anniversary of Dr. France's admission to the bar. Reservations at $5 each may be had by telephoning MUrray Hill 5-5245 or by writing: c/o Cohen, 845 West End Av., Apt. 5F, New York City.

Kutcher will speak in New York Feb. 17

JAMES KUTCHER, who lost both legs in World War II and has since faced the loss of his job, his home and his pension as a result of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party, will tell his story at New York's Community Church, 45 E. 35th St., Friday evening, Feb. 17.

Other speakers announced by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, sponsor of the meeting, include N. Y. **Post** editor James A. Wechsler, Morris Iushewitz, secy-treas. of the N. Y. City CIO Council, and Kenneth M. Birkhead, natl. exec. director of the American Veterans Committee. Admission is free.

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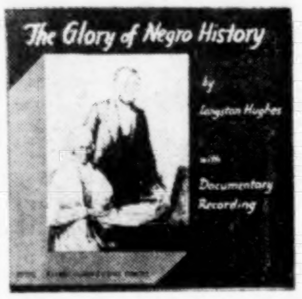

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the SPECTATOR

The great struggles

THIS REPORT URGENTLY RECOMMENDS three extraordinary books published within the last few months. Each is essential equipment for everyone concerned with the democratic development of the U. S. and the conflict between the wage-profit system and socialism.

The newest, published this month, is Vol. II of Dr. Philip S. Foner's **History of the Labor Movement in the United States,** covering the period from the founding of the American Federation of Labor in the 1880's to "the emergence of American imperialism" in the McKinley administration years at the turn of the century. Vol. I was published in 1947, covering the period from Colonial times to the '80's. The scholarly title may tend to conceal perhaps the most dramatic chronicling yet undertaken of the nation's history for its first 100 years, in the most appropriate terms in which that history can be presented—the struggle of the working class toward control of its own destinies and those of the nation.

This struggle is brought into the immediate present, from a beginning at the start of the Civil War, by Richard O. Boyer and Dr. Herbert M. Morais in **Labor's Untold Story**—a rare and rewarding collaboration between a painstaking and independent historian, Dr. Morais, and one of the best journalists and magazine writers of our time, Mr. Boyer, a veteran of the staffs of the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch,** N. Y. **Herald Tribune, PM** and the **New Yorker** magazine. A British edition and translations into Polish and Russian are already in preparation.

The third recommendation is **Political Prairie Fire,** an absorbing study of the agrarian revolt begun in North Dakota in 1915 which brought into being the Non-Partisan League. League administrations ran the state for six years, gave rise to the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota and aroused farmer-labor collaboration in a dozen other states from Texas and Oklahoma to Washington and Oregon. The author, Robert L. Morlan, had the full cooperation of the many surviving League leaders, including its founder, A. C. Townley.

WHAT TIES THESE BOOKS TOGETHER from our viewpoint is that all the great and bloody struggles recounted, in almost every decade of the nation's history (if we include the period covered by Dr. Foner's Vol. I), could one day count toward the accomplishment of what the A. F. of L.'s political program of 1893 called for in its Plank 10—"collective ownership by the people of all means of production and consumption. . . ." And unless we confront the whys of the nullification of Plank 10 against the determination of the A. F. of L. rank and file at that time, and the collapse of all previous and subsequent labor-farmer political movements despite a history-long mistrust of the "old parties," we may waste a century of struggle and sacrifice like that of the 19 "Mollie Maguires" framed by the Pinkertons and executed in the Pennsylvania coal fields in the 70's. (**Labor's Untold Story,** Chap. 2).

Red-baiting, of course, has always figured in the fiasco—whether the term used was "Jacobin" (1797) or "communist" as early as the 1850's. But sectarianism, race prejudice, antipathy toward foreign-born, political opportunism and, above all, the lack of a consistent socialistic orientation seem to have made all labor-farmer political efforts evaporate under capitalistic attack.

Yet the past seems to have been far more enduring than the present in this respect. The Non-Partisan Leaguers braved jail to hold their ranks during World War I—and expanded their influence while under the severest attack. The Labor-Populists swarmed Congress and innumerable state governments until they followed Bryan into the Democratic Party in 1896 and 1900; the Farmer-Labor outgrowth of the Non-Partisan League merged into oblivion similarly as late as the '40's.

The experiences—some bitter, many exalting—contained in these three books should indubitably be part of the basic knowledge of any and every participant in the Great Debate on the American Left today. Upon such experience must be built the political future of progressive America. **—John T. McManus**

HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, Vol. 2, by Philip S. Foner. 480 pp. International Publishers, 381 Fourth Av., N. Y. 16. $5 cloth, $3.75 popular.

LABOR'S UNTOLD STORY by Richard O. Boyer and Herbert M. Morais 401 pp. Cameron Associates, 100 W. 23d St., N. Y. 11. $4.75

POLITICAL PRAIRIE FIRE by Robert L. Morlan. 408 pp. Univ. of Minnesota Press. Available at $4.50 through Progressive Book Shop, 2012 Girard Av. S., Minneapolis 5, Minn.

Jewish Folksingers on an LP record

THE JEWISH Young Folksingers, under the direction of Robert DeCormier, have put a glowing concert on two sides of a long-playing record. (Stinson Records, 27 Union Sq. W., New York, $3).

One side contains a group of Yiddish folk-songs and songs so close to Yiddish lore as to have the folk quality. These include Goldfadden's "Rozhinkes Mit Mandlen" (Raisins and Almonds), the street song, "Oy A Liebe," and the age-old tenants' complaint, "Dire Gelt."

On the other side the Folksingers vary their mood with the French revolutionary "La Carmagnole," the Negro "Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel" and songs from Canada, Puerto Rico and Israel.

Chorus and soloists bring their customary fine musicianship to rich, warm music.

—E. B.